4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are extremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out-of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect with which Albanians regard their women that they

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours. 764

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, c).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 . . Analyst

2 [See cat. 116 p 42a - Analyst

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGl

and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than bitterly.

Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant household in which a young husband and wife were the only workers. The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements remained binding.

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprisonment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case women and children died of starvation. There were several

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14), and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[See Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

yaghourt. The publicity of the cooking arrangements, which is common to all Albanian eating-houses, has its advantages. It makes a menu unnecessary. The foreigner, just as easily as the native, can see for himself what food is available and can indicate the dish of his choice by pointing to it. In the inn at Argyrocastron, however, the publicity went unpleasantly far, for hanging from a rail of the staircase was to-morrow's dinner in the raw state—a defunct sheep all ready for roasting whole, with a long wooden spit struck through it lengthwise. This revolting sight brought me to the verge of vegetarianism, but since Albania, like Montenegro, is essentially a meat-eating country, I realised that it was not a suitable place to begin experiments in a vegetable diet, and I was therefore obliged to stifle my better instincts and carry on for the nonce in the old carnivorous way.

One feature of the Albanian inns that the traveller will remark is the absence of womenfolk. All the household work is done—and usually done very badly—by men or boys. At Argyrocastron the "chambermaid" was an Italian-speaking Albanian, dressed in a very old and shabby khaki uniform, who spared no pains to make me as comfortable as circumstances permitted, and was exceedingly grateful for the few liras I gave him on leaving. In fact, neither in Albania nor in Montenegro did I find that distressing greed for tips which is so characteristic of countries which claim to be much more civilised. Before I left Cettinje, being anxious to show my appreciation of services rendered by the

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen ("platno") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. "The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap 'zubun', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* "The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material" (M.E.D.).

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. "Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. "Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne" Sarajevo, 1926.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."†

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.).

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection.

No. 1935-33. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *mehalla* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.